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### INDONESIA'S COMMITMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE: CASE STUDY OF ROADMAP VISION 4,000 PEACEKEEPERS 2015-2019 POLICY

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#### Abstract

Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019 is Indonesia's foreign policy in the era of President Joko Widodo's administration related to Indonesia's participation in the UN PKO (United Nations Peacekeeping Operations). This policy is aimed at placing 4,000 active Garuda Contingent troops at the end of 2019. Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers contains a strategic reference for the Indonesian government from 2015 to 2019 to reach the target of 4,000 troops. This study focuses on analyzing this policy using constructivist perspective with the concept of role identity, to explain why Indonesia behaves in that perspective. The purpose of this study is to enrich the perspective of Indonesia's foreign policy related to participation in UN PKO, especially in the era of the President Joko Widodo using the non-material aspects of constructivist. This study uses a research methodology in the form of literature studies and interviews with related practitioners, while data analysis used is congruent methods to match the theories used with case studies. This study was done to see how the identity of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker state was realized through the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers. The results of this study prove that the role of Indonesian peacemaker will always reflect that role in every era of government because it has become a constitutional mandate in the 1945 State Constitution

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## INTRODUCTION

In 2015, the Indonesian government issued a pretty interesting policy regarding Indonesia's involvement in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UN PKO). The policy issued was in the form of a roadmap that was named Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. This roadmap is an ambitious project by the Indonesian government in its involvement with the UN PKO (The Jakarta Post, 2015). This policy was made by the Indonesian government as means, ways, and ends, hence this policy took the form of a roadmap to reach the goal of 4,000 active troops. The Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers was first established by the Indonesian government in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) Regulation Number 5 of 2015 (Permenlu No. 5/2015). Based on this regulation, Indonesia's involvement in the UN PKO is always carried out by respecting the basic principles of the UN PKO which includes impartiality, consent of the parties, and non-use of force, except in self-defense and defense of the mandate (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015a).

With the issuance of this roadmap, Indonesia hopes to improve and continue to develop its commitment to PKO (Peacekeeping Operations) activities throughout the world. This argument is supported by the proof of the statement, "Even the smallest contribution matter. They can make a difference in maintaining international peace and security." The statement was said by Indonesian Vice President, Jusuf Kalla in a meeting regarding the peacekeeping program with the UN General Assembly (UNGA). This Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers was used as a foundation for Indonesia to continue to develop the role of maintaining peace as it had become a mandate at the opening of the 1945 Constitution (The Jakarta Post, 2015). In the fourth paragraph of the 1945 State Constitution, one of the sentences that became the goal of Indonesia was, "... and participates in carrying out

world order, lasting peace and social justice ... " (L. F. Hutabarat, 2014).

This is interesting to discuss because this is the first time Indonesia has made such a big deal policy regarding participation in the UN PKO. Previously, Indonesia's participation was only sending the Garuda Contingent without detailed planning. Before 2015, Indonesia did not have a foreign policy such as the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers. This is the reason why Indonesia does not show consistency with regards to sending the Garuda Contingent. Unfortunately, at the end of 2019, Indonesia failed to reach the target of 4,000 troops. The data shows the number of 2,738 peacekeepers active in December 2019 (UN Peacekeeping, 2019). However, what will be discussed in this study are the ideological factors behind this policy, which will be analyzed using constructivist. Constructivist is used instead of realism or liberalism because constructivism looks more at what causes the state to show certain behavior, which in this study will see how Indonesia's behavior regarding peacekeeping through this Roadmap Vision policy. The next paragraph will discuss how Indonesian behavior shows the inconsistency in sending peacekeeper personnel before the Roadmap Vision policy. Where the presence of this policy is a very important form of commitment to the development of Indonesia's participation in UN PKO.

Indonesia's participation in the UN PKO mission is a long journey in the history of Indonesia, where it first deployed its peacekeeping force in 1957 to help resolve the conflict between Egypt and Israel in the Suez Canal with the United Nations Emergency Forces (UNEF) I. Indonesia's contribution in the UN PKO was "slowed down" during the Soeharto era in the early 1990s. In that era, the Indonesian government reduced the sending of military troops to UN PKO because President Soeharto's administration focused more on the role of national military forces to maintain Indonesia's domestic security.

Although it remained active in several UN PKO such as in Cambodia in 1992, Somalia in 1993, Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1993-1995, and Tajikistan in 1998. Cambodia became the last mission of Indonesia which involved a fairly large number of military personnel, which is almost around 2000 personnel. After that, the number of peacekeepers deployed by the Indonesian government could be said to be quite limited. This condition then continued until 2004 (Wiharta, 2016). In 2004, under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who was also a former commander of the Indonesian peacekeeping force in Bosnia in 1995-1996, Indonesia was again actively involved in the UN PKO. Although still in a small intensity of personnel, Indonesia began to participate again in the UN PKO in Congo by sending 188 military personnel consisting of technical units and the health division (L. F. Hutabarat, 2014). Here it is shown how without a policy to regulate the sending of the Garuda Contingent, it looks inconsistent where it experiences "ups and downs" in the number of personnel.

The most notable achievement of Indonesia before the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy was the establishment of a training center called the Indonesian Peace and Security Center (IPSC) in Sentul, Bogor in 2011 by President SBY. The building of the peacekeeping training center is based on the experience of SBY when he was part of the peacekeeping force in Bosnia, where according to SBY among the 38 countries that contributed to the operation, Indonesian troops had fewer skills compared to troops military from other countries, due to constrained English language skills, lack of knowledge related to peacekeeping, and other technical obstacles such as driving expertise and the use of technology (Munawwaroh, 2011). Here it is important to explain how Indonesia's involvement in the UN PKO before the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers. This is used as a comparison

regarding Indonesia's involvement during the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers which will be explained in the "result & discussion" section.

## METHODS

This study uses a qualitative method by analyzing how Indonesia's commitment to the UN PKO through Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers is explained in a constructivist perspective using the concept of identity. Data were obtained through books, journals, mass media, online media, and conducting interviews with 6 (six) active personnel of the Garuda Contingent who until the writing of this study in 2020 was completed, were deployed in UN PKOIFIL (Lebanon).

Interviews were conducted on 6 April 2020, by sending a questionnaire containing questions related to this study through the WhatsApp application with 6 (six) active members of the Garuda Contingent, who rank as Colonel Inf, Lt. Col. Cpm, First Lieutenant Inf, Major Inf, and Chief Sergeant. They are currently positioned as UNIFIL Sector East Deputy Commander, Commander of the Garuda XXV-L/UNIFIL Contingent (Sector East Military Police Unit/SEMPU), Chief Tactical Operation Command (TOC) INDOBATT Konga XXIII-N, and Military Sector Staff East HQ UNIFIL. The reason for choosing an active member of the Garuda contingent was because it needed direct opinion from UN PKO practitioners in addition to statements from government officials. The contents of the interview questions are as follows:

- 1) Is Indonesia's involvement in the UN PKO based on Indonesia's role as a country that upholds peace as written in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution?
- 2) How did this role affect Indonesia's involvement in the UN PKO?
- 3) Regarding the government's policy on placing 4,000 active peacekeepers around the world at the end of 2019, is this also based on Indonesia's role as previously explained?

- 4) How do you respond to the author's argument that Indonesia uses this policy to strengthen the commitment to be involved in the UN PKO?

This study uses the congruent method as a method for analyzing data. The essence of the congruent method is that the researcher chooses a particular theory and uses it to explain and predict the outcome of a particular case. Theory acts as a liaison for the existing variables, namely, the dependent variable and the independent variable; it can be deductive or take the form of an empirical generalization. The congruent method aims to find consistency between cases with predictions based on certain theories (Bennett & George, 2005)

Based on the introduction section, this study was conducted to explain how Indonesia's commitment to participate in the UN PKO through the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019 policy. The commitment shown by Indonesia through this policy will be explained from a constructivist point of view by looking at the identity of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker which has become one of Indonesia's goal in the 1945 Constitution. Constructivists are used because it departs from the main argument that Indonesia's participation is based on the factor of Indonesia's ideas on world peace, namely as a peacemaker. So, the policies undertaken must be aligned with Indonesia's ideas on world peace. This study puts forward an inter subjectivity analysis between the dependent variable, which is the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers and the independent variable, which is the identity of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker.

### **Previous Research**

Indonesia's policy regarding the involvement in the UN PKO itself has become a common topic among academics. However, only a few research on the Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers Roadmap policy have examined this policy. Previous researches mostly only discussed in terms of Indonesia's history in the UN PKO, the

form of Indonesian diplomacy by being involved in the UN PKO, and the analysis of Indonesian government policies before the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers. This section will explain some of the previous studies that discuss Indonesia's participation in peacekeeping. Anwar (2014) explains how there has been a change regarding Indonesian peacekeeping participation which becomes more multidimensional. This includes cooperation with ASEAN countries. Anwar's research found that through the 2015 ASEAN Community, ASEAN countries including Indonesia are trying to realize regional development to be able to play a role in the international community including peacekeeping.

Cook (2014) discusses the most influential factors of Indonesia and Malaysia as a middle or regional power in participation in the UN PKO. This research has illustrated the multifaceted nature of Indonesian and Malaysian contributions to UN PKO. It has further illustrated that beyond official United Nations-mandated peacekeeping forces both countries pursue a proactive foreign policy towards conflict mediation and resolution – key attributes of middle or regional power status. Indeed, there are dominant trends that are found in both countries' approaches to UN peacekeeping. In both cases, the dominance of personality politics remains consistent across time in foreign policymaking even though Indonesia is presidential and Malaysia is a parliamentary system.

Hutabarat (2014) discusses the challenges and opportunities in enhancing Indonesian participation in UN PKO. Based on the realistic understanding that participation in peace operations may foster the state's national interests. Indonesia has not yet defined a clear direction to guide its position and attitude on this matter. The result says that the Indonesian government needs to establish a national policy that promotes the Indonesian national interests in the UN peacekeeping mission. A successful strategy is a long-term process

that requires a strategic and holistic approach.

Capie's research (2016) is related to Anwar's research (2014). It examines the rise of Indonesia as an "Emerging Peacekeeping Power" which discusses how Indonesia, among other countries that are members of ASEAN, is the most ambitious country for its role in the UN PKO and analyzes it using the norm concept. Capie's research found that Indonesia is normatively more willing to improve its image after the 'embarrassing' incident of East Timor's independence, by establishing itself as an "Emerging Peacekeeping Power", through participation in peacekeeping.

Hutabarat (2018) discusses the role of the female Garuda Contingent personnel in the UN PKO. It discusses how the role of women in peacekeeping can encourage the success of a PKO. It was explained how the sending of female Garuda Contingent personnel was a form of PKO multidimensional development following the UN gender equality campaign. The role of women is also part of Indonesia's national strategy in peacekeeping.

Fauzia (2018) discusses the motivations behind Indonesia's increased participation in UN PKO. The phenomenon was approached multi-dimensionally by applying a comprehensive theoretical model of Bellamy and Williams (2013). The result showed that Indonesia deploys its personnel to UN PKO when it is perceived as beneficial to further its interests and ideology. State deploys its personnel to UN PKO to further its foreign policy goals (increase its national prestige and accelerate its role in international cooperation so that its voice can be heard), to further its interest to contain conflicts not to spread from their roots, to gain military advantages (international military experience, increase interoperability, legitimize the armed force), and to further its ideology of being a supportive humanitarian state. The study argued that the state does not participate simply for

financial advantage, because the result found that the state would still participate even though it does not gain significant benefit economically (on the contrary, the state is burdened by training and standby costs).

Because previous studies have never discussed in detail the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers from a constructivist perspective, this study is aimed at enriching the perspective (through constructivists) regarding Indonesia's foreign policy in peacekeeping through Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers by analyzing the ideological factor behind this policy.

### **Constructivist**

Constructivist is a paradigm to explain the phenomenon of international relations. Not all international issues that occur can be analyzed through a realist and liberal perspective when talking about international conflict and state cooperation. Constructivist itself looks opened about the social construction of actors and institutions, which then raises the assumption of how people and countries think and behave in world politics based on their understanding of the world around them. This is because, constructivist focuses on human awareness and its role as an actor in international relations (Ruggie, 1998).

According to Schimelfenning (Dunne et al., 2007), constructivism emphasizes how the intersubjectivity products of social structures such as culture, institutions, and social interactions can shape identity and interests. The emergence of a phenomenon that occurs in the actor will affect his actions. The perspective of a phenomenon that occurs, for constructivists is the result of social construction. The meaning of social construction is the existence of social aspects such as culture, interaction, and understanding embedded in the actor or attached to other actors that will determine his actions going forward. In international relations, constructivist exists to improve or provide a new perspective from a social

point of view of pre-existing thinking. Constructivist begins with social theory in international politics, that the intended social construction is to refute the realist view of his views on the anarchic world. Constructivist sees a different perspective on the structure of international anarchy.

### **Role Identity of Constructivist**

This study will use the concept of identity. The concept of identity can be understood through two meanings. First, identity is a 'social' category, which is the attribute or characteristic that distinguishes it from the others. This conception implies identity as something that is constructed in the process of interaction with other parties. So, it takes intersubjectivity to give meaning to 'who I am/we are' and who 'you and they are'. The influence of outside actors on the way actors perceives themselves and others cannot be understood without an understanding of the broader social context in which the actors are located (Ellemers et al., 2002). Second, identity as a category of 'personal', which is the attribute or characteristic inherent in the actor whose appearance without the need to go through the process of differentiation from the others. This second definition presupposes identity as something that is self-awareness by the relevant actor without the need for intersubjectivity. Personal identity sees the actor as a unique person who distinguishes it from other personalities. According to this category, the actor acts on his own free will and purpose regardless of his position or position in the social context (Stets & Burke, 2000).

This study uses the concept of identity at the state level. According to Katzenstein (1996), the identity of a state emerges due to mutual interactions with different social environments, both domestically and internationally. A state's national identity is very important to understand its political behavior and is related to state history. Katzenstein considers that identity is a crucial aspect of the perspective of constructivists. Identity determines the type

and form of a state foreign policy. The international community also has a major influence in shaping state identity. International interaction between states makes a state seen as an active state in the international world making it the 'identity' of that state. Furthermore, this study will use the concept of role identity for analyzing Indonesia's identity reflected through Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers. Role identity is one of the four concepts of identity from constructivist. According to Wendt (1999), role identity will determine how the position and responsibility of a state concerning other states or even non-state is.

Based on the theory used, the main argument of this study is that the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers as a commitment of Indonesia's involvement in UN PKO is based on one of the typologies of the identity concept of constructivism inherent in Indonesia, namely the role identity as stated in the theory section, where the role identity of Indonesia is a state that has a role to create and maintain world peace or known as a peacemaker, following the Indonesian objectives stated at the opening of the fourth paragraph of 1945 State Constitution.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019**

Throughout the history of Indonesia's involvement in the UN PKO, Indonesia has always shown an ambitious attitude in every involvement. In February 2015, the Indonesian government issued a policy related to the involvement in the UN PKO by forming a Roadmap which was prepared based on the Indonesia's MFA Regulation Number 5 Year 2015, regarding Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. The roadmap prepared in 2015 is Indonesia's foreign policy strategy, to be able to continue to be active and contribute to the UN PKO. Based on the roadmap, it explains the objectives and background of the Indonesian government's policy to

increase the number of peacekeeping troops by 2019 to 4,000 personnel as a form of Indonesia's commitment to implementing order and realizing world peace, as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (*Peta Jalan Visi 4,000 Personel Pemeliharaan Perdamaian 2015-2019*, 2015).

According to the roadmap, the deployment of 4,000 Peacekeepers will have positive impact in strengthening Indonesia's strategic role in various multilateral forums, especially the United Nations and creating greater opportunities for Indonesia to fill strategic positions, both at PKO and at UN headquarters. Moreover, it is hoped that this will also strengthen the credentials of nominating Indonesia as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (2019-2020) and the Peace Building Commission (PBC). In addition, considering Indonesian defense policy as set out in the Indonesian White Defense Paper 2015, which is the main task especially for the Indonesian military forces or *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI) which includes the implementation of military war operations, military operations other than war, and participate actively in regional and international maintenance tasks (*Peta Jalan Visi 4,000 Personel Pemeliharaan Perdamaian 2015-2019*, 2017).

In connection with the above considerations, the roadmap as a strategic reference needs to be developed that outlines means, ways and ends with a 2015-2019 timeframe for achieving 4,000 Peacekeepers deployment. Implementation of the roadmap will be carried out through the mechanism of the Peace Maintenance Coordination Team or *Tim Koordinasi Misi Pemeliharaan Perdamaian* (TKMPP) established in accordance with President Regulation Number 85 of 2011 (*Peta Jalan Visi 4,000 Personel Pemeliharaan Perdamaian 2015-2019*, 2017).

Through Indonesia's MFA Regulation Number 1 of 2017 as a change to MFA Regulation Number 5 of 2015, Indonesia's steps to reach the target of 4,000 troops are explained in point "H" of the regulation. At

this point, it is written about the steps to be taken during 2015 to 2019. Indonesia's steps from 2015 to 2019 have been repetitive, by repeating the steps every year. Mainly, this step is meeting Indonesia's targets by taking steps that are repeated every year. Indonesia's written steps include, drafting legal basis and identifies potential theaters for the implementation of the UN PKO annually from 2015 to 2019. For the number of personnel reaching the target of 4,000 troops in 2019, Indonesia will add the number of personnel involved in the UN PKO to 250-650 troops per year. The equipment of the personnel must also be maintained effectively and efficiently. This is in accordance with Indonesia's steps to carry out effective and efficient logistics management of Contingent-Owned Equipment (COE) (*Peta Jalan Visi 4,000 Personel Pemeliharaan Perdamaian 2015-2019*, 2017).

The civilian aspect in the UN PKO implementation with this policy is also a concern for Indonesia, by conducting a study of the civilian capacities regulation. Increasing the effectiveness of the Garuda Contingent personnel capacities will also be increased by carrying out the finalization of the formation of an operational standby force, TNI standby Force and the Standing Police Capacity (SPC) of the Indonesian national police in every UN PKO that Indonesia joins. An annual approach with the UN is also a step for Indonesia to improve the quality and commitment of Indonesia in the UN PKO. This include by participating in the study of participation in the United Nations Standby Arrangement System (UNSAS), intensifying consultations and lobbying with UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO), exploring opportunities for various strategic positions both at UN headquarters in New York and at UN PKO, and utilizing the role of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C-34) to voice Indonesia national interest (*Peta Jalan Visi 4,000 Personel Pemeliharaan Perdamaian 2015 - 2019*,

2017).

At the domestic level, the Indonesian government itself is also taking steps to improve Indonesia's performance in the UN PKO. Among them is carrying out outreach activities to national stakeholders such as government officials. The implementation of ministerial level TKMPP meetings will be intensified to facilitate the coordination of the implementation of the UN PKO. Indonesia also utilized the participation and contribution to the UN PKO in supporting the nomination of RI as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (UNSC) for 2019-2020 period. This target has been achieved, with Indonesia being appointed as a non-permanent member of the UNSC on January 1, 2019. Visits by high ranking officials will be intensified. The visit was in the form of a comparative study of training and logistics centers and other countries participating in the UN PKO. The government will also optimize the use of Indonesia's national strategic industrial products (e.g. PT. Pindad) by the Garuda Contingent in UN PKO participation. To see the success of this policy, an evaluation will be carried out annually by relevant officials (*Peta Jalan Visi 4,000 Personel Pemelihara Perdamaian 2015-2019*, 2017).

With this policy, Indonesia government will also expand certain aspects. Such as by conducting socialization regarding increased participation of female peacekeepers. The socialization aims to optimize the involvement of the International Association of Women Police in encouraging an increase in the number of female peacekeepers. Indonesia will also improve its performance in the ASEAN regional community. Indonesia will encourage the acceleration of the development of the ASEAN Peacekeeping Centers Network (APCN). This also indicates that, Indonesia is not only trying to improve performance in PKO for itself, but also in PKO performance for ASEAN as a whole. Indonesia itself will also try to maintain the potential of the top ten

countries with the most personnel contributions (*Peta Jalan Visi 4,000 Personel Pemelihara Perdamaian 2015-2019*, 2017).

### **Indonesia' Role Identity Under Jokowi's Era on Peacekeeping**

The foreign policy during Jokowi's period had a different orientation from the SBY administration, who was very active in being active in the international world or commonly referred to as 'outward-looking'. Jokowi prioritizes domestic politics that are "inward-looking". In his leadership, Jokowi is known as a more 'domestic' figure. This argument can be proven through several policies that provide evidence of the inward-looking tendency of policies carried out by Jokowi, such as the intensification of infrastructure development and the empowerment of small and medium enterprises throughout Indonesia (Connelly, 2014).

First, it needs to be explained regarding what identity are attached so as to make the 'identity' of Indonesia in peacekeeping. Based on previous explanations, Indonesia has long been involved in peacekeeping activities. The question is why does Indonesia behave this way? To explain this, it is necessary to return to the early days of the founding of Indonesia. When formulating the objectives of the Indonesian state listed in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, Sukarno explicitly explained the objectives of Indonesia. Indonesia's identity related to peacekeeping is explained in the fourth paragraph. Through the phrase "... participate in carrying out world order based on independence, lasting peace and social justice", Indonesia has the principle to uphold and strive to achieve world peace. This proves that, Indonesia was founded with the aim of one of which is to maintain world peace. The government is legally mandated by the constitution to actively contribute to maintain and create world peace and security. Aside from being based on Indonesia's basic constitution which



requires participating in world peace, Indonesia's participation is also based on the UN mandate which requires all member countries to contribute actively to world peace. This mandate is written in article 43 paragraph 1 of the UN Charter which reads:

All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rites of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security (Gray, 2008).

The same statement was made by six members of the Garuda Contingent who at the time of writing this study (2020) were assigned to UN PKOIFIL. Based on the results of the interviews conducted by the author for those six personnel, it can be drawn an outline that the reason for Indonesia to participate and be active in PKO is based on Indonesia's role as stated in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. One of the interview speakers, who is the East Deputy Commander of UNIFIL, also emphasized that Indonesia participated in the UN PKO because of ideas that are based on Indonesia's role in realizing world peace instead of material capabilities such as the United States. Commander of the Garuda Contingent XXV-L/UNIFIL Contingent (Sector East Military Police Unit / SEMPU) also added that Indonesia's participation in the UN PKO itself is an important indicator of the extent of Indonesia's ability to carry out its role as a peacemaker in the international world.

Then it is necessary to look at the perception of world peace by Indonesia. World peace for Indonesia is international stability. As written in the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia is ready to play a role in participating with the aim of creating international stability. Indonesia is ready to play a role in areas that are geographically far from Indonesia only to be able to carry

out Indonesia's tasks with the ultimate goal of creating world peace. For Indonesia, participating in the UN PKO is considered a concrete step to be active and consistent in peacekeeping (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Indonesia, 2019). UN PKO is considered the most strategic instrument to achieve Indonesia's goals as written in the 1945 Constitution. According to Ryamizard Ryacudu, Indonesia's role is very influential if it is active in efforts to prevent conflict. According to him, participation in the UN PKO will gradually affect the prevention and resolution of international conflicts (Kompas, 2019). Jusuf Kalla also made the same statement when he was still vice president in June 2019. According to Jusuf Kalla, the track record of participation in the UN PKO has made this instrument one of Indonesia's leading diplomacy to create an ecosystem of peace and stability globally (Haq, 2019). Indonesian identity in peacekeeping is recognized and is an obligation to be implemented through attitudes shown through the implementation of foreign policy by every era of president in Indonesia. This indicates that the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy is a reflection of Indonesia's identity related to peacekeeping. Jokowi himself is aware of this Indonesian identity. During a speech at IPSC, Bogor on 31 August 2018 in order to release the Garuda Contingent for UN PKOIFIL and MONUSCO, he said that he is proud to release the Garuda Contingent for peace missions in the Republic of Congo and Republic of Lebanon. Proud to help maintain world order which is mandated by our constitution (Widiastuti, 2018). This indicates that Jokowi is aware of this identity and realizes it through the policy of Indonesia's role in peacekeeping through active participation in the UN PKO.

It can be concluded that, Indonesia has a state identity, namely as a peacemaker. State identity as peacemaker is defined as a state that seeks to create stable and peaceful conditions by means of mediation,

prevention, and resolution of a conflict that occurs (United Nations, 2012). According to the concept of identity from constructivist, Indonesian identity is included in the category of state role identity. Role identity is an identity based on the position and responsibility of a country for a particular role (Wendt, 1999). The identity of this role as peacemaker makes Indonesia have a role and responsibility to uphold, create, and maintain peace in the world because it has become the mandate of Indonesia's basic constitution. Indonesia uses this role to actively participate in the UN PKO. Jokowi himself realizes that Indonesia's identity role as a peacemaker should not be abandoned. Through his previous statement, Jokowi realized that this role was an obligation and Indonesia should be proud of this role.

Although the main focus of Jokowi era is 'inward-looking' which tends to be domestic, 'outward-looking' commitments such as participation in the UN PKO must be maintained by the state. Because this role is one of the goals of the Indonesian state, it must be realized by every leadership regardless of the differences in the main focus of each government. Jokowi still views this identity as important because it is correlated with Indonesia's foreign policy. The identity of Indonesia's role as peacemaker is a form of Indonesia's 'free and active', where the correlation of the 'free and active' principle and the role of peacemaker intersect with one another. The same thing was shown in statements from Ryamizard Ryacudu and Jusuf Kalla. Based on their previous statements, they are aware of the role that Indonesia bears as a world peacemaker. The statements that have been explained by several previous state figures reflect the premise of constructivist. Because basically, constructivist itself sees openly about the social construction of actors and institutions, which in turn raises the assumption that how people and countries think and behave in world politics is based

on their understanding of the world around them. This is because constructivist focuses on human consciousness and its role as an actor in international relations (Ruggie, 1998). It can be seen that there is a social construction of the actors. Through the statements of these government officials, it can be understood that they have ideas and attitudes based on their understanding on the world around them, namely an understanding on the mandate of Indonesia's goals written in the constitution related to world peace. This then forms a social construction which then develops into a state behavior which is applied through Indonesian policies in maintaining world peace, so that in the end it forms a state identity, namely the identity of Indonesia's role. The role of the Indonesian peacemaker reflects the principle of Indonesia's 'free and active' foreign policy which is active in world peace efforts and is free not to take sides with any side in being involved in peacekeeping. Thus, the identity of peacemaker remains an important thing in Jokowi era because it is a constitutional mandate and is something that must be upheld by Indonesia. The importance of this identity role is manifested by Jokowi through the implementation of the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy.

### **Indonesia's Commitment on UN PKO through Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers**

This section will explain about statements from related government officials which are a form of Indonesia's commitment to the UN PKO through the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers and include what behavior Indonesia shows through this policy. Based on the main argument of the author, this policy is a product of Indonesia's increased commitment in the UN PKO which is based on the identity of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker. According to history, Indonesia has been involved in PKO more than half a century ago. Indonesia itself has experienced up

and down in its participation in the UN PKO. As has been explained in the introduction section, the increase in Indonesia only significantly started during the SBY administration. Based on this increase, it can be attributed to the part of Indonesia's Role Identity Under Jokowi's Era on Peacekeeping where Jokowi, who inherited the responsibility of Indonesia's role as peacemaker, proved to be aware of the importance of Indonesia's role as manifested through this policy.

Through the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy, it can be seen how Indonesia behaves in participating in the UN PKO. Indonesia tends to be idealistic about its involvement in the UN PKO. Two different sides can be identified which explain why the state participates and increases its commitment in the UN PKO, namely idealistic and realist behavior. On the one hand, the idealist side assumes that states will participate in the UN PKO out of an obligation to protect international peace and preserve international norms and values. Achieving these norms and values will cause countries to participate in peacekeeping. On the other hand, the realist side states that states do whatever they can to give their power resources, to protect and preserve their national interests (Neack, 1995). Based on the identity of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker, Indonesia tends to lead to an idealist side. If we see from the idealist side, the goal which becomes the mandate of the constitution in Indonesian peacekeeping is in accordance with the statement "... to protect international peace and preserve international norms and values" from the idealist side.

Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers itself contain many political aspects that tend to be idealistic in its implementation. This argument is based on the policy objectives that have been explained in introduction. The benefits of increasing Indonesia's role in the UN PKO are indeed likely to be political. According to Sorenson & Wood (2004), politically, states that increase their commitment to the

UN PKO will get the following benefits; increasing the profile of the state as a world community, gaining authority, being able to carry out and increasing their interests in the sphere of peacekeeping, forming or enhancing the leadership status of a country, and opening up opportunities for the state to integrate and cooperate in international and regional scope, especially in the military aspect. This explained Indonesia's political goals through this policy itself are evidenced by Indonesia's goals, among others, to occupy the top 10 contributing countries with the most troops in the UN PKO, maintain good relations between countries so that Indonesia's image will be better in the eyes of the world, fighting for international peace and stability, and most of all, is Indonesia's bargaining tool in the nomination as a non-permanent member of the UNSC, which was then truly realized (Widiastuti, 2018). This indicates that Indonesia is more likely to be political (idealist side) in accordance with constructivist which is not focused on the material (realist side) in participating in the UN PKO.

Indonesia Peace and Security Center (IPSC) is an important aspect in determining the success of the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy. IPSC, which was established in 2011, has become a forum and a key part of enhancing all forms of Indonesian capability to participate in the UN PKO. Jokowi's government is increasingly developing the multidimensional IPSC role. Not only improving the capabilities of the Garuda Contingent military personnel, Jokowi also commissioned IPSC to give priority to the capability enhancement of the civil component of the Garuda Contingent. The task of increasing the capability of the civil component is aimed at professionals such as legal experts, technicians, medical personnel, and other relevant professionals (L. Hutabarat, 2018). In addition, statement from Representative of Commission I of the Republic of Indonesia House of Representatives Asril Hamzah Tanjung

said, with the international dynamics that occur, IPSC is Indonesia's base building in long-term peacekeeping, because Indonesia's participation is highly expected by the international community (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, 2018). This proves that the government is empowering IPSC to be able to achieve the targets of the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers and be able to benefit Indonesia's participation in the UN PKO for now and in the future.

The Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy also makes Indonesia an example of another state in its role as a peacemaker. It is hoped that through this policy, other states can be called upon and trying to do the same, by committing to maintain world peace. This indicates that, the identity of the role as a peacemaker is also sought to be a positive example of Indonesia in peacekeeping as part of Indonesia's identity to the world community. This argument is supported by a statement from Retno Marsudi (2015) at the Asia-Pacific Regional Meeting on Peacekeeping on 28 July 2015 which said that Indonesia will not be tired of continuing to be an example of other countries to increase their contribution in a noble effort towards world peace through the UN PKO and Indonesia is an example of a visionary country and contributor that is highly committed to world peace and security through the UN PKO (Witular, 2019).

Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers themselves are also supported by Jokowi as a form of Indonesia's commitment to increase participation in maintaining world peace through the UN PKO, apart from the goal of occupying the top 10 contributing countries with most troops and non-permanent members of the UNSC. In facilitating this policy, Jokowi formed President Regulation Number 86 of 2015 regarding the sending of the peacekeeping mission which became the legal basis for sending the Garuda Contingent as a form of Jokowi's support in this policy

(Panduwinata & Fitriani, 2018). Jusuf Kalla as vice president also responded by implementing this policy. He said that Indonesia remains in the path of a stable commitment to realize the vision of 4,000 peacekeepers by the end of 2019 (The Jakarta Post, 2015). Based on Jokowi's form of support and statements from Jusuf Kalla and Retno Marsudi (2015), it can be seen that there are non-material aspects of Indonesia's reasons for implementing this policy. Through the identity of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker, the reason for increasing commitment to the UN PKO through this policy is to become an important country in maintaining world peace. Where milestones achieved by Indonesia through increased commitment include non-material things, such as being able to become a non-permanent member of the UNSC which will increasingly give Indonesia wider influence in the role as a peacemaker.

Through interviews with six interviewees, an outline of this Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy can be found. Overall interviewees outlined that this policy was to increase commitment to realize Indonesia's role as a peacemaker. The practitioners viewed this policy as being formed to gain credibility from the world community to Indonesia in helping to bring about world peace. According to them, trust is very important to be obtained which is now able to receive the benefits of being appointed as a non-permanent member of the UNSC. In addition, with high trust from the world community, Indonesia will be able to facilitate themselves in establishing multilateral and bilateral relations as well as facilitate in carrying out Indonesia's foreign policy.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout the history of Indonesia's involvement in the UN PKO, Indonesia has always shown an ambitious attitude in each of its engagements. In February 2015, the Indonesian government issued a policy related to involvement in the UN PKO by

forming a roadmap based policy, based on the Indonesia's MFA Regulation Number 5 of 2015, to achieve the target which is placing 4,000 peacekeepers worldwide who are in the UN PKO by the end of 2019 from 2015. This foreign policy is called Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers 2015-2019. The roadmap drawn up in 2015 is Indonesia's foreign policy strategy, to be able to continue to be active and contribute to the UN PKO. Based on the roadmap, the objective and background of the Indonesian government's policy to increase the number of peacekeeping forces by 2019 to 4,000 personnel is a form of Indonesia's commitment in carrying out order and realizing world peace, as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. This was later raised by the author as the main topic in this study.

Through the concept of identity of constructivist as the theory for analyzing, the researchers have found that it was true that the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy was a manifestation of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker. The role of Indonesia itself has been mandated explicitly in the 1945 Constitution on the fourth paragraph, which shows the role that Indonesia must play in the international community. Not only in the state constitution, the identity of Indonesia's role as a peacemaker is also based on the mandate by UN contained in the UN Charter Article 43 Paragraph 1. This correlated with the concept of role identity, where the role identity inherent in a country, in this case is Indonesia, is able to explain the behavior and reasons for the role of the state in such a way.

Through the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers, it can be seen that Indonesia shows an idealistic behavior in implementing this policy. This idealistic behavior shows the non-material aspects of the reasons for Indonesia being involved in the UN PKO. This is correlated with the main reason Indonesia issuing this policy which was to increase commitment in UN PKO participation, based on the identity of

Indonesia's role as a peacemaker. Jokowi uses this policy to continue carrying out the principle of Indonesia's foreign policy in such a way as a form of implementing constitutional mandate for state policies that must not be abandoned, regardless of Indonesia's material capabilities. This is where this study exists to explain why Indonesia is implementing the Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy in the concept of identity from constructivist, because there are non-material aspects that explain why Indonesia shows such behavior towards participation in UN PKO through this policy. The Roadmap Vision 4,000 Peacekeepers policy itself is able to give high trust to Indonesia from the world community, which in the end is able to create an easy way for Indonesia to carry out its role as a peacemaker.

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